



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

### III.

## A STATESMAN OF THE COLONIAL ERA.

---

As the Greeks were reminded that brave men existed before Agamemnon, so it may be well for the present generation of Americans to reflect that our land produced great statesmen in the past, whose memory should be cherished.

The populace, and especially in republics, has ever been attracted by the glitter of the soldier, the clang of whose martial shout deadens the footfall of the statesman, as the bray of the ass the song of the nightingale. Ignorant savages crowd in adoration about the loud, *criarde* colors of a sign-painting, while the masterpieces of Raphael or Correggio pass unnoticed. Napoleon wished to go down to posterity with the "Code" in his hand, but posterity forgets the great lawgiver, who made France, in despite of revolutions and calamities, the first of industrial and economic nations, and remembers Lodi and the Pyramids, Marengo and Austerlitz. Many, who have heard of Blenheim and Malplaquet, are ignorant of the fact that Marlborough was the most accomplished diplomatist of his age, and that all his skill was required to keep the frugal Dutch, the greedy Germans, and the selfish Austrians true to the "grande alliance."

In popular estimation Washington is always crossing the Delaware or receiving the sword of Cornwallis. His lofty patriotism, his pure motives, his calm civic wisdom are measurably overlooked, though his capacity as a commander did not reach mediocrity, and was far below that of Greene, the only general produced by our Revolutionary struggle.

The character and composition of our population strengthen this tendency. Many thousands of our citizens migrated from despotic governments, where they had dreamed of liberty as "monks of love." Without capacity for discrimination, they have mistaken for heroes, soldiers whose only triumphs have been over their own countrymen; for patriots, selfish place-hunters, and for statesmen, unscrupulous partisans. Vituperation has passed for eloquence, slan-

der for truth, denunciation for argument, and the practice of using official station as a means to private fortune has been regarded as evidence of loyalty to the Union. But if this Union is to endure as the home of national liberty, as the asylum of the nations ; if the Federal authority is to be a beneficent agent for all and a tyranny for none, leaving the right of self-government to the people in their several communities, we must recur to the principles and methods of the founders of the republic, study their characters and acts, and emulate their examples. Among the wise and good who in the past century secured the independence of our country and founded its government, **GEORGE MASON**, of Virginia, holds a place second to none.

Of all pursuits in which men engage, agriculture best promotes sound minds in healthy bodies, when she is a kindly handmaid, not an exacting taskmistress. The yeoman, compelled to follow his plow-tail from dawn till dark, has little time for thought, less for study, and usually falls into that bovine condition characteristic of his class ; but the proprietor who superintends his estate, and whose capital absolves him from the necessity of constant labor, has ample time for reflection and books, and his contact with mother earth is as refreshing as was that of the classic giant. To such proprietors England and America are deeply indebted. They conceived and brought forth the true spirit of liberty, liberty of thought, of speech, of action ; whose limitation was at the point where its exercise intrenched upon the rights of others. Equally opposed to the tyranny of monarchs and majorities, they asserted the rights of individuals, and, controlled by dignity and self-respect, accorded to the persons and opinions of others the same courteous consideration which they claimed for their own. To this class in England belonged Eliot, Vane, Hampden, and, in America, George Mason.

His ancestor, of the same name, came to Virginia in 1651-'52. A Staffordshire gentleman of fair estate, he sat in the House of Commons in the reign of the first Charles, whose arbitrary measures he steadily opposed, but, like Clarendon, Falkland, and many others, joined the royal army at the outbreak of war. As a colonel of horse, he served until the royal cause went down at Worcester—the “crowning mercy” of Cromwell—when he escaped the country and established himself in Virginia. A younger brother—William—accompanied him. This William settled at Norfolk, Virginia, where he married and died, leaving a son who removed to Boston, Massachusetts. It is pleasant to think of the formal but kindly

intercourse that was doubtless kept up between the Virginia and Massachusetts cousins after their separation. Codfish, chow-chow, and chutney—for Salem and Boston were early traders to the East Indies—were exchanged as tokens of kinship for hams and tobacco, and with all the stately phraseology marking the friendship between the houses of Waverley and Bradwardine. Now, “*nous avons changé tout cela*,” and it requires some effort of the imagination to recall a time when there was sympathy between Virginia and Massachusetts.

A great-grandson of the royalist colonel, and of the same name, married in 1726 Miss Anne Thomson, a relative of Sir William Temple, the wise and virtuous minister of the second Charles, who negotiated the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, to curb the ambition of the fourteenth Louis. George Mason, the subject of this memoir, was the first child of the marriage, and was born near the close of 1726, at Doeg's Neck, in Stafford (now Fairfax) County, Virginia.

His childhood and youth were passed on the paternal estate, amid the wholesome and cheery influences of the country life of the period, when horse and hound, rod and gun filled a large place in the daily life of the Virginia gentry. The practice of sending youths of birth and expectations *home*, across sea, to be educated, was not followed in his case, but he was most carefully instructed at home, imbibing a taste for books and habits of study which he retained throughout life. Especially was he versed in English history, from *Magna Charta* to Somers's “Declaration,” adopted by the convention calling William and Mary to the throne, and the struggles and methods by which our ancestors wrought out their liberties had been carefully studied by him. In the experience of our English fathers assaults upon liberty were to be apprehended from executive power, and hence they sought to protect it by limitations of the authority of the Crown ; but Mason distrusted the nature of all power, its greed and tendency to encroachment, and in the Constitution of Virginia—largely his work, and the first written constitution of a free commonwealth in history—adopted on the 29th of June, 1776, he restrained legislative and judicial as well as executive powers.

He succeeded to the family estate of Doeg's Neck at the death of his father, who was drowned by the accidental upsetting of his sail-boat in the Potomac.

Subsequently, he married Miss Ann Eilbeck, of Charles County,

Maryland, and built a new mansion on his property, which he called Gunston Hall, in honor of the seat of his maternal ancestry in England. The estate consisted of seven thousand acres, and lies on the Potomac next below Mount Vernon. With his neighbor and devoted friend, Washington, he was a pewholder and vestryman of old Pohick Church.

Absorbed by the care of an increasing family and a great estate, Mason was averse to a public career, but no man in the colonies more closely watched the current of events, or held more decided opinions as to the rights of the people and the duty of asserting them. In 1766 the merchants of London addressed a public letter to the planters of Virginia, to which Mason, in the London "Public Ledger," replied, defending the position maintained by the colonists, and concluding with—"These are the sentiments of a man who spends most of his time in retirement, and has seldom meddled in public affairs ; who enjoys a moderate but independent fortune, and, content with the blessings of a private station, equally disregards the smiles and frowns of the great." When Parliament subsequently asserted the right to tax the colonies "*in all cases whatsoever,*" Mason wrote a tract entitled "Extracts from the Virginia Charters, with some Remarks upon them." From this many of the arguments against the claim of the Crown were drawn. In a letter to a friend in England, dated 1770, he writes : "We will not submit to have our money taken out of our pockets without our consent or that of our representatives ; because, if any man, or any set of men, without such consent, take from us one shilling in the pound, we have no security for the remaining nineteen."

In 1769 he prepared the non-importation resolutions which were offered by Washington in the Virginia Assembly, and unanimously adopted. Among these resolutions was one not to import or purchase any imported slaves after the 1st day of November ensuing.

It may be said that Mason was the only leading man of the time to foresee the difficulties and dangers of the slave question. At a meeting of the people of Fairfax, held on the 18th of July, 1774, and presided over by Washington, Mason made his first public appearance on the theatre of the Revolution, by presenting a series of twenty-four resolutions, which embraced a statement of grievances and proposed the means and measure of redress. The ground of controversy with the Crown was reviewed, a Congress of the colonies recommended, and the policy of non-intercourse with the mother-country urged. These resolutions, conspicuous in our annals, were

transmitted to the first Virginia Convention which met at Williamsburg in the following August. They were sanctioned by that body, and substantially adopted by the first general Congress on the 20th of October of the same year.

Mason first appeared in the public councils as deputy from the county of Fairfax to the Virginia Convention in 1775, when he was elected a member of the Committee of Safety, and, at an early period of the session, pressed by Peyton Randolph, Pendleton, Jefferson, and others to accept a seat in Congress. This last he declined. The recent death of his beloved wife, leaving to his care nine children, made him unwilling to go abroad. To one of Mason's warm affections and domestic habits this bereavement was especially heavy. In a letter to a friend, written four years after, he alludes to this unhealed wound. The Convention of 1775 adjourned on the 29th of August, leaving the administration of the government in the hands of the Committee of Safety. It reassembled on the 6th of May, 1776, but Mason, detained by an attack of gout, did not take his seat until the 18th. The resolution instructing the delegates of Virginia in Congress to propose *independence* had been adopted three days before, when the committee to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government was appointed. He was immediately placed on this committee, as well as on three others, Propositions and Grievances, Privileges and Elections, and for the encouragement of the manufacture of salt, saltpetre, and gunpowder.

That a private gentleman of a retiring disposition should, on his appearance in council, have been charged with such responsibilities, is proof of his reputation, and of the general confidence reposed in his judgment and patriotism.

The Declaration of Rights was reported by the committee to the Convention on the 27th of May, and on the 12th of June, 1776, was adopted by a unanimous vote. This great instrument, the first of its kind, the work of a scholar, statesman, and patriot, in which may be found the history of English and American liberty, is here given :

#### DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

DRAWN BY GEORGE MASON.

A DECLARATION of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free convention ; which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government, unanimously adopted by the Convention of Virginia, June 12, 1776 :

1. That all men are created equally free and independent, and have cer-

tain inherent natural rights of which they can not, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2. That all power is by God and nature vested in and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community. Of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of administration; and that whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

4. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary.

5. That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicial; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, and return unto that body from which they were originally taken, and vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections.

6. That elections of members, to serve as representatives of the people in the Legislature, ought to be free, and that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent, common interest with and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage; and can not be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented for the common good.

7. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights and ought not to be exercised.

8. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage; without unanimous consent he can not be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; and that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

9. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

10. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man

and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

11. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

12. That a well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free state; that standing armies in time of peace should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to and governed by the civil power.

13. That no free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

14. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, that it is the mutual duty of all men to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, toward each other.

This is from the manuscript written by Mason, to which he added, "This Declaration of Rights was the first in America," and herein are to be found all the principles of the subsequent "Declaration of Independence" and the declaratory enactments of the several States. Indeed, the great principles on which free government rests are more perspicuously and forcibly stated by Mason than by his followers and copyists.

In a letter to a friend, written more than two years after, an allusion is made to the "Declaration," and, as it exhibits Mason's opinions at a critical period, as well as his style, the letter is here given :

VIRGINIA, GUNSTON HALL, October 2, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR: It gave me great pleasure, upon receipt of your favor of the 23d of April (by Mr. Digges), to hear that you are alive and well, in a country where you can spend your time agreeably; not having heard a word from you or of you for two years before. I am much obliged by the friendly concern you take in my domestic affairs, and your kind inquiry after my family; great alterations have happened in it. About four years ago I had the misfortune to lose my wife: to you who knew her, and the happy manner in which we lived, I will not attempt to describe my feelings. I was scarce able to bear the first shock; a depression of spirits, a settled melancholy followed, from which I never expect or desire to recover. I determined to spend the remainder of my days in privacy and retirement with my children, from whose society alone I could expect comfort. Some of them are now grown up to men and women; and I have the satisfaction to see them free from vices, good-natured, obliging, and dutiful; they all still live with me and remain single, except my second daughter, who is lately married to my neighbor's son. My eldest daughter (who is blessed with her

mother's amiable disposition) is mistress of my family, and manages my little domestic matters with a degree of prudence far above her years. My eldest son engaged early in the American cause, and was chosen ensign of the first independent company formed in Virginia, or indeed on the continent; it was commanded by the present General Washington as captain, and consisted entirely of gentlemen. In the year 1775 he was appointed a captain of foot in one of the first minute regiments raised here; but was soon obliged to quit the service by a violent rheumatic disorder, which has followed him ever since, and, I believe, will force him to try the climate of France or Italy. My other sons have not yet finished their education; as soon as they do, if the war continues, they seem strongly inclined to take an active part.

In the summer of 1775 I was, much against my inclination, dragged out of my retirement, by the people of my county, and sent as a delegate to the General Convention at Richmond, where I was appointed a member of the first Committee of Safety; and have since, at different times, been chosen a member of the Privy Council and of the American Congress; but have constantly declined acting in any other public character than that of an independent representative of the people, in the House of Delegates, where I still remain, from a consciousness of being able to do my country more service there than in any other department, and have ever since devoted most of my time to public business, to the no small neglect and injury of my private fortune; but if I can only live to see the American Union firmly fixed, and free governments well established in our Western world, and can leave to my children but a crust of bread and liberty, I shall die satisfied, and say, with the psalmist, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

To show you that I have not been an idle spectator of this great contest, and to amuse you with the sentiments of an old friend upon an important subject, I inclose you a copy of the first draught of the Declaration of Rights, just as it was drawn and presented by me to the Virginia Convention, where it received few alterations, some of them I think not for the better: this was the first thing of the kind upon the continent, and has been closely imitated by all the States. We have laid our new government upon a broad foundation, and have endeavored to provide the most effectual securities for the essential rights of human nature, both in civil and religious liberty; the people become every day more and more attached to it; and I trust that neither the power of Great Britain nor the power of hell will be able to prevail against it. . . . To talk of replacing us in the situation of 1763, as we first asked, is to the last degree absurd and impossible: they obstinately refused it while it was in their power, and now that it is out of their power they offer it. Can they raise our cities out of their ashes? Can they replace, in ease and affluence, the thousands of families whom they have ruined? Can they restore the husband to the widow, the child to the parent, or the father to the orphan? In a word, can they reanimate the dead? . . . The die is cast, the Rubicon is passed, and a reconciliation with Great Britain, upon the terms of returning to her government, is impossible. . . . As long as we had any well-founded hopes of reconciliation, I opposed, to the utmost of my power,

all violent measures, and such as might shut the door to it; but when reconciliation became a lost hope, when unconditional submission or effectual resistance were the only alternatives left us, when the last dutiful and humble petition from Congress received no other answer than declaring us rebels and out of the King's protection, I, from that moment, looked forward to a revolution and independence as the only means of salvation ; and will risk the last penny of my fortune and the last drop of my blood upon the issue. . . . God has been pleased to bless our endeavors in a just cause with remarkable success. To us upon the spot, who have seen step by step the progress of this great contest, who know the defenseless state of America in the beginning, and the numberless difficulties we have had to struggle with, taking a retrospective view of what is passed, we seem to have been treading upon enchanted ground. The case is now altered. American prospects brighten and appearances are strongly in our favor. The British ministry must and will acknowledge us independent States.

The well-balanced intellect, the noble independence of character, the unselfish patriotism of the man stand forth in every sentence of this letter. Indeed, all the opinions of George Mason, written or spoken, deserve attention. A collection of his writings and speeches would be an admirable text-book, wherein the student could find the true meaning of civil and religious liberty, the duty of a citizen in a free state, and the proper limitations of government.

After the adoption of the Constitution, Mason was appointed chairman of the committee to draft the oaths to be taken by the Governor and Council, and was subsequently made a member of the committee to revise the laws. It is remarkable that a man without professional training should have been placed at the head of committees, consisting of the ablest lawyers of the day, to deal with purely legal subjects. The last duty assigned him by the Convention of 1776 was to assist in the preparation of a seal for the new Commonwealth, and the present seal of Virginia, with the "*Sic semper tyrannis,*" was recommended and adopted.

At this time Mason was fifty years of age, his dark hair sprinkled with gray, but retaining all the fire of youth in his bright eyes. Nearly six feet in height, his frame was massive, yet, despite of his hereditary gout, his step was elastic and free. His love of field-sports preserved the activity of his limbs, and exposure to the open air had deepened his swarthy complexion. His contemporaries seem to have been much impressed by his dignified bearing. This description of his personal appearance is confirmed by his portrait, which was preserved at Clermont, Fairfax County, Virginia, resi-

dence of the widow of General John Mason, fourth and last surviving son of George.

In the first Virginia Assembly under the new Constitution Mason's talents for debate, as well as his liberal tendencies, were conspicuously displayed in many warm discussions. Assisted by Jefferson he brought forward, and carried through, measures for the repeal of all the old disabling acts, and for legalizing all modes of worship, releasing dissenters from parish rates.

Madison declared him the ablest man in debate that he had ever heard ; and Jefferson, near the close of his life, wrote : " I had many occasional and strenuous coadjutors in debate ; and one most steadfast, able and zealous, who was himself a host. This was George Mason, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of the Revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former Constitution, and earnest for the republican change on democratic principles. His elocution was neither flowing nor smooth ; but his language was strong, his manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism, when provocation made it seasonable."

In 1777 Mason was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and was engaged in correspondence and consultation about public affairs with leading men, but took no conspicuous part until 1787, when he was chosen a member of the Federal Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States. Devoted to his home and children, he preferred privacy, and a sense of duty alone could induce him to accept public station. He took the lead in the debates on the formation of the Constitution, and always on the liberal and democratic side. When the question was discussed whether the House of Representatives should be elected directly by the people, he maintained that no republican government could stand without popular confidence, and that confidence could only be secured by giving to the people the election of one branch of the Legislature. He also favored the election of the President directly by the people and for one term, with ineligibility afterward, but opposed the project to give the Federal Legislature a veto on all State laws. He denounced the proposition to make slaves equal to freemen as a basis for representation, or to require a property qualification from voters. With great fire and energy he spoke against the clause in the Constitution which prohibited the abolition of the slave trade until 1808, *declaring slavery to be a source of national weakness and demoralization, and that it was essential for the General Govern-*

*ment to have the power to prevent its increase*; this by a Virginia planter, himself a large owner of slaves. The Convention defeated some of Mason's efforts to render the Constitution more democratic; and, an enemy to all implied and constructive powers, he was especially dissatisfied with the extended and indefinite authority conferred on Congress and the executive, declining for these reasons to sign it.

On his return to Virginia he was chosen a member of the Convention called to ratify or reject the Federal Constitution, where he led the opposition to ratification, unless subjected to amendments. Those proposed by him were a Bill of Rights and some twenty alterations in the body of the instrument. Several of these amendments were subsequently adopted by Congress and the States. In this debate Mason, followed by Patrick Henry in the Virginia Convention, and by Luther Martin in that of Maryland, clearly pointed out the danger of implied and constructive powers, and foretold the evils that would come. He was elected the first United States Senator from Virginia under the Constitution, but declined the position and retired to Gunston Hall, where he passed the three remaining years of his life with his children and books, preserving his fondness for field-sports to the last.

He died in the autumn of 1792, and was buried at Gunston Hall. A plain marble slab, inscribed with his name, date of birth and death, marks the spot; but, with those of other illustrious Virginians, his statue stands at the base of Crawford's statue of Washington in front of the Capitol at Richmond.

The following extract from his last will and testament is characteristic: "I recommend it to my sons, from my own experience in life, to prefer the happiness of independence and a private station to the troubles and vexations of public business; but if either their own inclinations or the necessity of the times should engage them in public affairs, I charge them, on a father's blessing, never to let the motives of private interest or ambition induce them to betray, nor the terrors of poverty and disgrace, or the fear of danger or of death, deter them from asserting the liberty of their country, and endeavoring to transmit to their posterity those sacred rights to which themselves were born." But the limits of a "Review article" are too restricted to give more than a sketch of Mason's public career. To be appreciated by the political student, who desires to understand the principles of free government and the formative history of the Federal Constitution, his work must be sought in the

journals of Congress, in the Declaration of Rights, Constitution and revised Code of Virginia, and in the debates of the Federal and Virginia Conventions, as must his affectionate nature in such letters to children and friends as have been preserved ; and it may be safely asserted that no one can carefully exhaust these sources without doubting whether his own or any age has produced a man superior to George Mason in all the elements of greatness.

“Bon sang ne peut mentir,” says the old French proverb, and the stock planted in Virginia by the ex-colonel of royal horse proves its truth. George Mason declined the position of Senator. His nephew, Stephen Thomson Mason, was a Senator from Virginia in 1794–1803. Another nephew, John Thomson Mason, was offered the position of Attorney-General of the United States by Jefferson, and again by Madison, but declined. A grand-nephew, Armistead Thomson Mason, was elected a Senator from Virginia in 1815, but fell in a duel with his cousin, John Mason McCarty, at the age of thirty-two. A grandson, Richard B. Mason, colonel and brevet-brigadier in the United States Army, was the first civil and military Governor of California. Another grandson, James Murray Mason, was sent to the Senate by Virginia in 1837, and remained a member until the civil war, when he went as Confederate commissioner to England. Descended, but more remotely, from the same stock was John Y. Mason, of Virginia, who was Secretary of the Navy under Tyler, held the same office, as well as that of Attorney-General, under Polk, and died in Paris, whither he had been sent by Pierce as United States Minister. Few families have furnished as many distinguished men to the service of the republic.

On the soil of Virginia rests the tomb of George Mason, within sound of the Capitol of the Union which he labored to establish, while pointing out, and in vain endeavoring to strengthen, the weak places in its foundation. A Virginian to the core, his sympathies extended to the uttermost limits of the colonies, and were as deeply stirred by the sufferings of Massachusetts as were those of her own great patriots, the Adamses, Warren, Hancock. Mayhap there lurks some germ of truth in the weird superstition that disembodied spirits keep watch and ward over the resting-places of their mortal remains. What changes has the spirit of Mason witnessed since his body was returned to earth ! As the mighty prophets of Israel, mournfully has he watched the fulfillment of his own predictions. He strove for a Union of consent and love. He has seen one of force and hate. He urged independent States to

create a common servant, the Federal Government, as a useful agent. He has seen the creature they called into being rend, like Frankenstein, its creators, disperse their assemblies at the point of the bayonet, deprive their citizens of every legal right. This he was prepared for ; this he foretold. While his mind was pregnant of the Union, like the Queen of Ilium, he dreamed of firebrands, knowing the greed of all power and the necessity for its limitation. But even he must be startled as he listens to the sentiments of the representatives of New England uttered in the halls of Congress ; and more, as he hears those of the representatives of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, whose States were formed from territory so generously donated to the Union by Virginia.

With a sadness surpassing that of Rachel, he has seen the wealth and cultivation of the South destroyed by unlettered multitudes from the interior of the continent, directed by the fanaticism of the East. But time is as naught to immortal spirits, and he may witness a similar fate overtake the East, either through the physical force of these same multitudes, or through wild schemes of currency and finance, derived from the savage tribes which they have so recently displaced.

The *rôle* of Cassandra is not a pleasant one, but any calamity may be predicted of a land wherein millions of people have forgotten George Mason, to worship "old John Brown." Yet a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mason may restore to their first affections hearts alienated from our Union, and teach those whose devotion to it savors of fanaticism and intolerance the beautiful lesson of charity and love. The blood of our English fathers spilled in the "Great Rebellion" had not dried before Puritan and Cavalier were in earnest council to cement the fabric of England's greatness. The leaders, who had often met in mortal strife, had not passed into dust ere the Cavalier boasted of the unflinching endurance of Cromwell's "Iron-sides," while the Puritan mother crooned her babe to sleep with songs of knightly Cavendish or Stanley.

That it may speedily be so with us is the fervent prayer of every true American heart ; and then, should the cry arise that the republic is in peril, the only rivalry between the sons of the North and those of the South would be, as in days of yore, who could carry the common banner deepest into the ranks of the common foe.

R. TAYLOR.